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# THE ISOLATION OF THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY\*

By RODERICK PEATTIE

In the Lower St. Lawrence Valley is established a civilization unique in its lack of progressiveness and picturesque in its proud adherence to the ancient customs of ancestral founders. The wooded mountains shadowing the valley, the steep cliffs which rise, at places, straight up from the river bank, the comparative inaccessibility of stretches of lowland available for agriculture, the scarcity of good harbors from the Gulf to Quebec—all are natural factors which have combined to isolate the inhabitants from the rest of the world and even to a surprising degree from one another.

Here, on strips of land or in little towns by the shore, the French Canadian engages in primitive but thrifty husbandry. Modern education has penetrated the region but slightly. The people have preserved the traditions brought overseas from France and have developed a provincialism which has recognized throughout the years no law of conqueror and no control save that of the Catholic Church and which is at present serenely withstanding the censure of more belligerent peoples.

## The Physical Conditions of Isolation

The Lower St. Lawrence Valley may be thought of as extending from the Isle d'Orléans, just below Quebec, to the relative restriction of the river between Cap des Monts on the north shore and Cap Chat on the south shore (map, Fig. 1). In the three hundred miles of its length the estuary widens from two to forty miles, which is a prominent factor in giving each shore certain physical and economic distinctions.

### THE NORTH SHORE

The north shore is characterized by a bold escarpment 1,500 to 2,000 feet in height, the crest of which is the southern boundary of the great Laurentian upland. Set back perhaps a mile from the edge of the escarpment are low, rounded mountains, the Laurentides, rising 500 to 1,500 feet above the upland. The upland itself dips gently northward; its undulating, tree-covered surface extends mile upon mile with amazing lack of striking forms of relief.

There are few settlements upon the upland. For the most part, forested wilderness comes unbroken to the escarpment, and in places the trees crowd down the steep slope to the water's very edge. Some of the community

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\* This paper is the result of a library investigation, followed by studies in the field during the summer of 1916, carried out by the writer under the direction of the Department of Geography at Harvard University. These studies included a 900-mile trip along both shores of the estuary—300 miles on foot and the rest by train, wagon, steamer, row boat, and butcher cart.

groups so infrequently scattered over this country of rugged solitude lie at the mouths of tributary stream valleys, others on terraces that lie at the base of the cliff. Wedge-shaped rift valleys penetrating the highlands offer sites for farming communities, and even the margin of the highland boasts settlements. Generally the upland has too meager a soil for agriculture, but where the Laurentides have stood as a protection against more severe glacial erosion the soil is deep. The coastal terraces, particularly the lowest, are of primary importance as settlement sites. These terraces are mantled with rich marine soils.

#### THE SOUTH SHORE

Bounding the south shore is another highland. From elevations of 1,000 feet opposite Quebec, it grows into mountains 3,000 feet in height as it nears the Gaspé Peninsula. Like that on the north, this upland is a rolling, infertile woodland plain, farmed only at the edge for the most part; but instead of terminating in a cliff, it descends gradually to the lowland. Although it lies 30 miles inland at the western end of the valley it approaches the river 100 miles down stream. From that point it follows the shore more closely, in most places grading down to the level of the water by a series of broad terraces.

These terraces are fertile, though for various reasons not always well drained. The lowest, as is the case on the north shore, is of recent emerged estuarine silt. The soil of the lower terraces, and in the western end of the valley of all the terraces, is marine and very productive.

#### CLIMATE

The climate is of an extreme continental character on a leeward coast in a belt of prevailing westerlies. Herbertson has called it the Laurentian type and compares it with the similar climate of the Amur district. There are within the region two slightly different types. The seaward portion has an appreciable marine influence, to which is added the effect of an increase in latitude by the northeast trend of the river. Generally speaking the winter is long and cold and the summer is short and warm. The precipitation is not heavy.<sup>1</sup> The result is a natural vegetation of the northern conifer type, principally of spruce, fir, and pine. Hardwoods are also abundant. The snow lies on the ground until May, but once it is melted the spring blooms suddenly. The growing season has a maximum of 150 days and is usually considerably less, but the summer day is long and the rainfall not too heavy, so that grains will mature. Maize is not grown, and the frost-free period is too short for the larger fruits in the greater part of the area. The heavy snow, averaging 120 inches in depth, supplies a roadbed

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<sup>1</sup> The mean annual temperature range is 60° F. in the southern division, but in the north this is reduced by 10°. The mean monthly temperatures of Quebec are: January, 9.4° F.; July, 65.5° F.; for Anticosti Island (Southwest Point), January, 12° F.; August, 57° F. Precipitation is 40 inches at Quebec and 35 at Father Point, about 70 per cent of this being in rain.

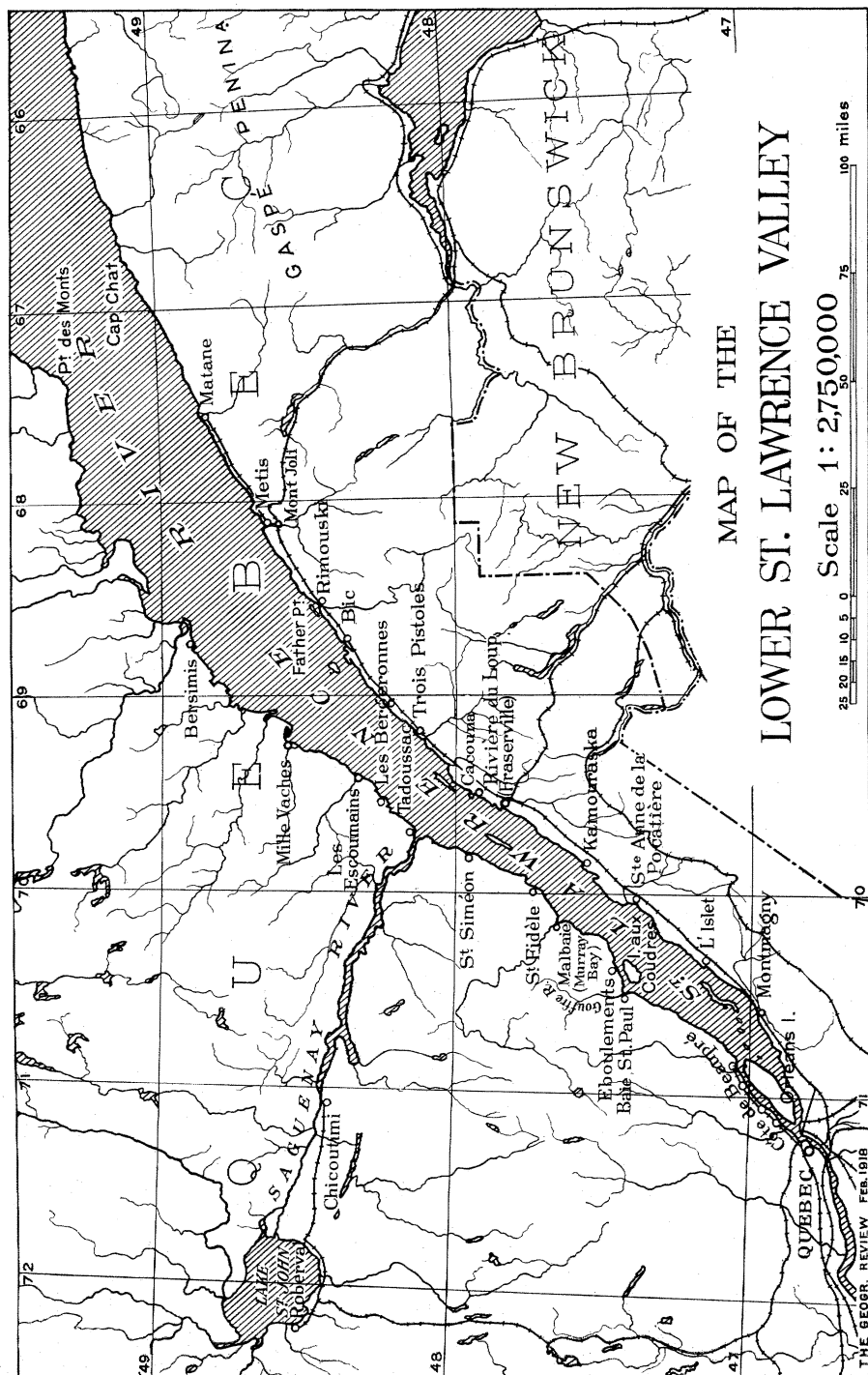


FIG. 1.—Sketch map of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley. Scale, 1:2,750,000.

for logging in winter and water for the spring "runs." For five months of the year Quebec is a closed port, and the river is dangerous for at least one month more.

### Economic Responses

Such are the physical conditions of the valley. A few of the economic responses which result from these will now be described. The region has terraces and lowlands in which life never has been meager. Wood products and, recently, farm products have furnished the foundation for a healthy commerce. But the primitive economy of the hinterlands on each flank, the imperfect communication, and the lack of doorways by which one may enter the territory have been formidable barriers to cultural exchange.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE NORTH SHORE

The farm products of the north shore are grains, hay, vegetables, and tobacco for home consumption. The one "money crop" is cheese—a recent development. This statement does not apply to the Côte de Beaupré, where milk, butter, and vegetables are furnished to the Quebec market. No village or hamlet is without the log-products industry. There are extensive lumber, pulp-wood, and pulp mills on the larger streams, and no settlement is too small to support some industry dependent upon the forest and the water power. It may but be a small water-run mill for crude lumber or a commerce in cord wood.

The water power is furnished by every stream in greater or less degree as it tumbles down from the upland. The Côte de Beaupré alone is served by a railroad. Beyond, the uplands come to the river's edge and present a cliff 1,500 feet high for 30 miles. At the base of this cliff a railroad bed has been blasted as far as Malbaie and will be continued to the Saguenay. The other communities are now reached for the most part by boat. As far as the Saguenay the boat service from Quebec is regular through the summer months.

There is no farming and but one large stream between St. Siméon and Les Bergeronnes; hence there are no settlements except Tadoussac, which is a resort and the point of transfer for the Saguenay River. From Les Bergeronnes to Mille Vaches there are streams which bring down timber and furnish power for its reduction. The climate and the peaty variety of much of the soil make farming a precarious pursuit. Beyond Mille Vaches there are no roads and scarcely a farm. In the remaining 100 miles there are half a dozen settlements deserving the name of town, and these are supported largely by fishing.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SOUTH SHORE

The south shore has much rich lowland, and, moreover, it is continuous, so that there is good rail communication. It is primarily a farming district, though in the aggregate the industries are not unimportant. The climate is

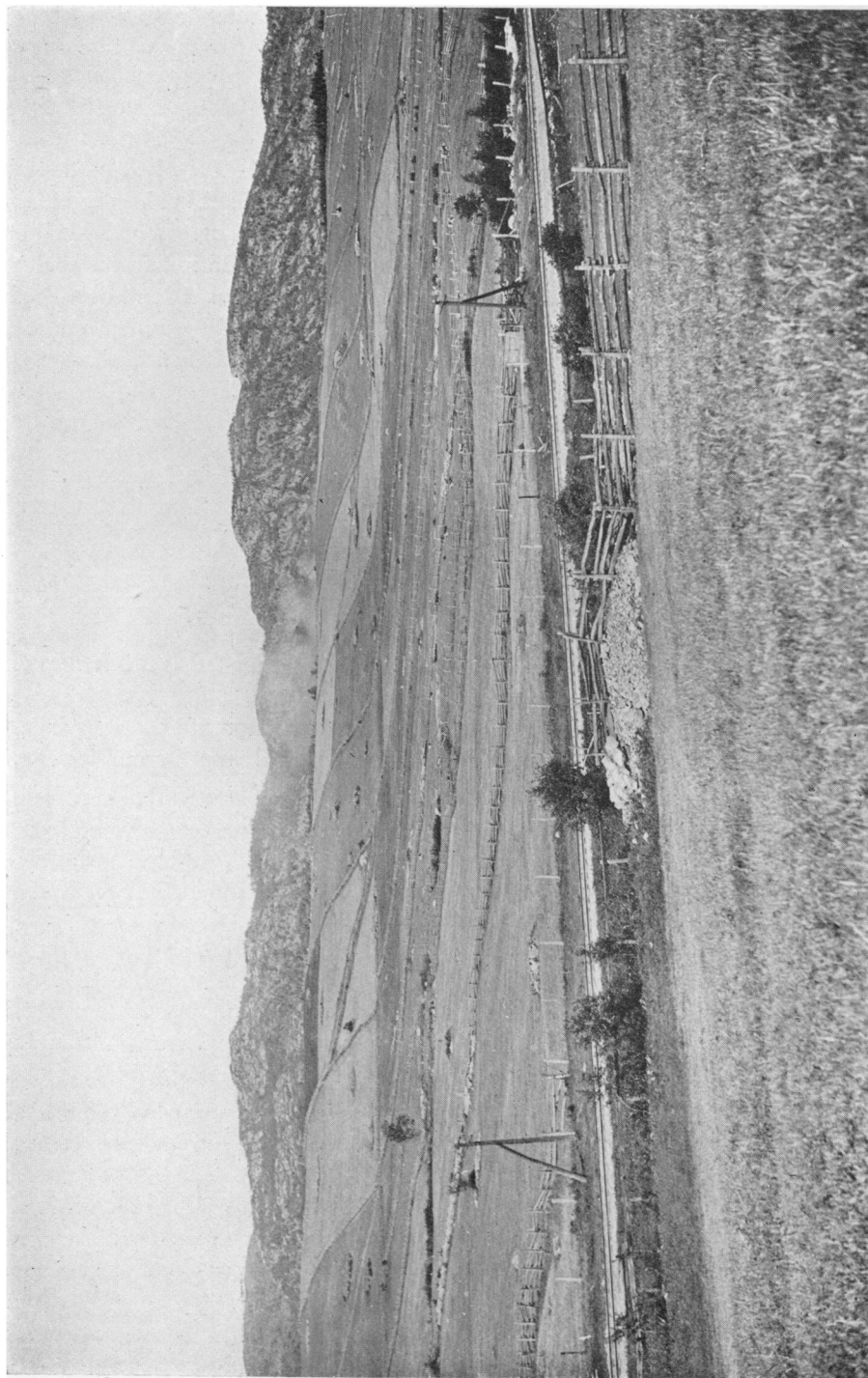


FIG. 2—Typical view of farmlands on the Lower St. Lawrence. Note the fence lines extending back to the ridge in the background. The all-importance of the St. Lawrence as the common highway made frontage on the river essential and led to the division of land into strips "measuring their width by the foot and their depth by the mile." (All photos, except Figs. 3, 7, and 8, by the author.)

somewhat milder than on the north shore, and, owing to the favorable topography and the good land communication, the farmer may consider himself possessed of advantages over his fellows upon the other side of the river. The Intercolonial Railway parallels the coast from Quebec to Mont Joli, and a small line continues to Matane. Butter, cheese, and live stock are sold according as the distance from Quebec becomes greater. Vegetables, particularly potatoes, and eelgrass (*Zostera marina*), for upholstering automobile seats, are other "money getters." The region has a fine active commerce through Quebec, but cultural contact in other directions is practically nil.

The industry upon the south shore is not extensive enough to do more than mitigate the isolation. The farming centers are small towns from ten to twenty miles apart. None of these are large even when they contain factories. The industry is usually some form of woodworking such as the production of lumber, pulp wood, furniture, or wagons. The larger mills are located at Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, St. Pâcome, Rivière du Loup, Bic, Tobin, Rimouski, Priceville, and Matane. Generally speaking, the greater the distance from Quebec, the less finished is the article produced.

#### POOR WATER COMMUNICATION

Strangely enough, though the Lower St. Lawrence is one of the great commercial estuaries of the world, the region has, as a whole, poor or imperfect water communication. The reasons are these: First, there is the significant climatic fact, already mentioned, that Quebec is a closed port five months in the year and a dangerous one for at least another month. Second, the region lacks good harbors, especially upon the south shore. The coast is much indented, but the present physiographic condition of the estuary is one of emergence of a confined delta, so that the approach to the shore is always shallow. Father Point, near Rimouski, and Rivière du Loup form partial exceptions to this condition, but much of the huge output of lumber from Matane is taken out to ships by means of lighters, and Rimouski sends its lumber out over a harbor that at low tide is dry for two miles from the shore. The north shore with the exception of Tadoussac has no natural harbors for large craft. The boats land at piers which are not always near the town and are frequently useless at low tide. Baie St. Paul and Murray Bay are huge indentations guarded by rugged capes, but the recent uplift and the constant filling by streams has created tidal flats of from one to three miles over which only the smaller type of schooner can float at high tide (Fig. 9). The distance from the farming centers to the docks, and the irregularity and inconvenience of the boat service, are discouraging features of communication. Beyond the Côte de Beaupré the bulk of the freight can be moved only in summer, for in winter the only communication is by small ferries that run across to the south shore. Because of these difficulties the north shore still preserves a large measure of independence.

## RECENT MODIFICATION OF ISOLATION

Ten years ago isolation was almost complete. Since then there have arisen ameliorating factors. The simultaneous development of transportation facilities and of the cheese industry brought buying power to regions which a few years before were compelled to provide for themselves everything in the way of food and clothing and all building materials save hardware. Even today the food is nearly all of home production; linens and woollens are spun in the cottages; tools as likely as not are homemade; and ideals are surprisingly local. This independence never existed in the region beyond Mille Vaches. Fishing communities have always been commercial, but distance, combined with seasonal isolation, can affect remote settlement to a degree almost incredible to those accustomed to the social and commercial exchange of more populous districts and a more amenable climate. There is much undeveloped water power in this region, but under present conditions it is not profitable, apparently, to go so far from the centers of population as western Quebec and the Maritime Provinces for power, particularly as the region is limited in its resources.

Another factor may be mentioned here. It is the culture brought in by the numerous visitors to the fashionable resorts of Murray Bay and Tadoussac, and the more modest ones of Métis, Kamouraska, and Cacouna, as well as that contributed by the sportsmen who haunt the forests throughout the region. But this influence is more than offset by the strictly French and Roman Catholic character of the population. Indeed, the region is likely to prove uncongenial to the immigrant or visitor who lacks a knowledge of the French tongue and a devotion to the Catholic faith.<sup>2</sup>

Historical Evidences of Isolation<sup>3</sup>

The conditions of isolation which have been summarized in the foregoing have made themselves felt in the human history of the region from the first, and it remains only to point out these elements in its history and to give a few present-day evidences of its remarkable provincialism.

## MEAGER COMMERCE OF NEW FRANCE

Colonial stability is based upon a commerce with the mother country. In a large measure this commerce depends upon the natural resources of the region, but in a lesser degree the economic condition of the mother country and the difficulties of intercommunication play a part. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, New France had but one product upon which to base her commerce, namely, fur. A variety of commercial experiments failed. Agriculture labored under disadvantages, and it was long

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Semple: *The Influence of Geographic Environment on the Lower St. Lawrence*, *Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. 36, 1904, pp. 449-466. Substantially the same paper is published under the title "The North-Shore Villages of the Lower St. Lawrence" in "Ratzel Gedenkschrift," Seele & Co., Leipzig, 1904, pp. 351-360.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities from which has come the mass of the historical material are G. M. Grant, Francis Parkman, E. C. Semple, Benjamin Sulte, R. W. Thwaites, F. J. Turner, Justin Winsor.

before the demand for food within the settlement was supplied by home produce. The greatest obstacle to husbandry was one peculiar to these settlements, in contrast with the English colonies. This was the shortness of the growing season, an adverse condition which the sixteenth century was ill equipped to contend with, for it was ignorant of our science of plant selection. The fact that a crop was of the first importance to the human beings who desired it did not keep it from failing. The country was not adapted to the growth of certain of the most nourishing products. Maize, for example, which was so great a blessing to the English colonies, could not be raised in New France.

But yet another factor, equally vital to industrial development, was lacking. This was industry of the sort that perseveres under all the discouragements of monotonous toil. Fur trading was an easy road to wealth, and this, together with the pleasures of hunting and fishing, encouraged indolence in the settler. He was content to be fed from the ships that came for furs. Thus the colony endangered its relations with France by being a constant drain upon her, by offering a single article in commercial exchange, and by having little or no economic independence. The difficulties of communication in those days of small boats need not be emphasized. A sailor might be held in inaction for several months awaiting favorable winds to take him across the ocean. One case is recorded where the *New World* was actually sighted by the eager sailors, when a storm arose which blew the helpless ship all the way back to France. Even with favorable winds the journey was long and perilous. Quebec, the one important port of the region, was, moreover, closed for five or six months of the year.

Thus the centrifugal force which tends to break a colony from its parent country was great in the Lower St. Lawrence. The centripetal tendency, commerce, was weak. Once the colony began to feed itself, the feeble commercial intercourse and the difficulties of traversing the long distance tended to give to the valley an independence of and lack of connection with France. This isolation was made the more complete by the vast wilderness which separated New France from the other American communities. The characteristics which were the inheritance of these settlers, their customs and modes of living, solidified. The men and women of New France drew upon tradition for their ideas and ideals and remained almost untouched by those influences from outside culture which incite to progress.

#### ISOLATING FACTORS AT TIME OF SETTLEMENT

These powerful factors isolated New France, or the whole of Lower Canada; but there are physical characteristics peculiar to the Lower St. Lawrence Valley which have been and still are potent in isolating small groups and even individuals.

The river itself was not the least of these. It was the primitive highway, and in the earlier days of settlement each man thought it essential that his

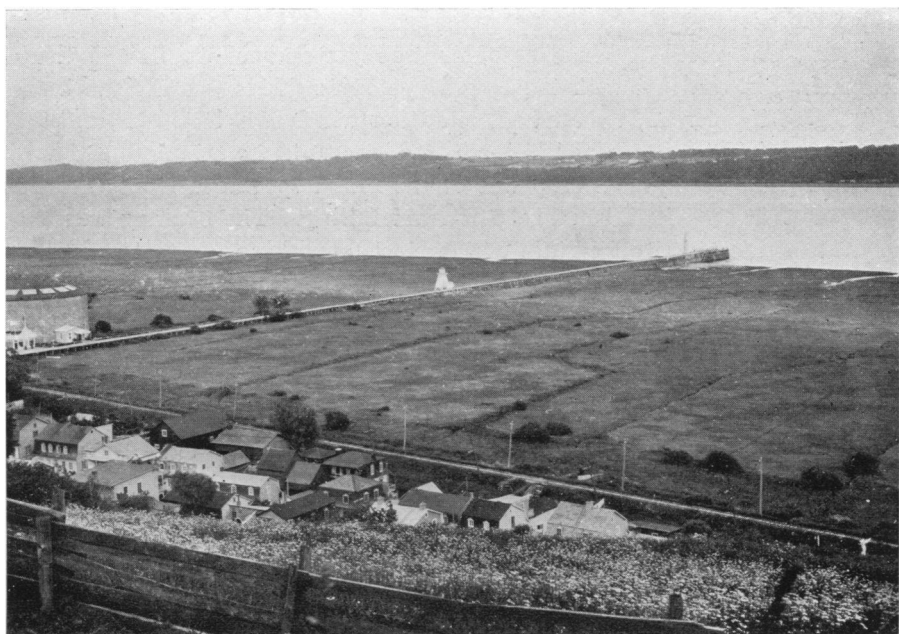


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIG. 3—The Côte de Beaupré along the north shore below Quebec, at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Isle d'Orléans forms the opposite shore. Causeways lead from the main highway across the meadows to landing places, which occur at frequent intervals. (Photo by Isaiah Bowman.)

FIG. 4—The Beaupré highway at the foot of the lowest coastal terrace. The nearness of the houses is due to the narrow river-frontage of the farms (see legend of Fig. 2). Note the plastered houses, the bird cages at the eaves, the thatched barn, and the hewn-log construction.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

FIG. 5—A farm group in the Gouffre valley on the north shore. The Norman architecture of the house in the background is an interesting survival from the mother country. The light-colored straw on the ridges of the thatched barns was put on as late as the summer of 1916. To the left of the barn is an oven house. The crop in the enclosure is tobacco.

FIG. 6—A former manor house, Baie St. Paul. Norman architecture.

farm should have a frontage upon the river. Not only was the river the highway, but it provided fishing opportunities as well. Moreover, the majestic stream deeply affected the minds of these imaginative settlers. It was the connecting link between the clearing and the little trading post; it gave the pioneer a sense of confidence and a courage to venture far in search of good land, while its friendly, open expanse mitigated the gloom of the trackless forests, the home of the savage and the wild beast.



FIG. 7—A boat with lumber on the Saguenay River. Note the precipitous character of the cliffs in the background. (Photo by Isaiah Bowman.)

To show how prodigal the people were of territory, the parish of one of the early Jesuit priests, Père Morel, included the 27 leagues from Rivière du Sud to Rivière du Loup and contained but 326 souls. Louis XIV attempted the establishment of three compact villages near Quebec and gave the people land and houses to occupy; but the river called, the people deserted the villages and returned to their former homes along its bank (Fig. 4). Nor were the settlements continuous even there. Topography and soil were the controlling factors in the location of the earlier settlements; and, as has been shown in the first part of this article, topog-

raphy and soil were not always favorable. The sterility of the uplands and their inaccessibility from the river, especially upon the north shore, the morasses of the south, the meager distribution of the lowland upon the north—all hindered free communication and rendered isolation effective. Nor can we regard the St. Lawrence as a river merely. To the paddler of a canoe this estuary was rather an inland sea than a river. So far apart were the shores that men on opposite banks might well regard each other as foreigners.

These elements of isolation meant a weak defensive against Indians and English. Had the Champlain-Richelieu depression met the St. Lawrence at a point east of Quebec, the marauding parties of the Five Nations might have aroused in the settlers such fear of destruction that they would have concentrated in defensive groups, but these lower reaches were undisturbed by the tragedies of savage warfare, and the people felt little need for co-operation. Instead of the co-operative impulse, a strong independence,

the inevitable result of this scattering, was the outcome. The Crown observed this and issued royal decrees to bring the people nearer together and more directly within its jurisdiction; but these mandates were unheeded. The Church, in order to care for its flock, found it necessary to convert its priests into voyageurs who dared to venture upon long and lonely journeys by canoe, reaching parishioners in the remote wilderness. There was an advantage inherent in this dispersion, however, for while Trois Rivières and Quebec spent their nights in brawling and fighting, the cottages of Beauré were scenes of pious domesticity. Today the Church still recognizes the moral value of rural quiet and so aids those patriot societies whose object is to prevent emigration and expatriation in keeping the French Canadian at home and upon the farm for the good of his soul.

#### TOLERANT POLICY OF ENGLAND

That this isolation has been a vital and active factor in shaping the character of the *habitant* we have been assured by historians and geographers, though few of them have described the physical conditions. The great historical proofs are these:

When Quebec fell before Wolfe and the English established themselves over Canada, the *habitant*, a prisoner within the narrow horizon allowed him by his physical environment, demonstrated his indifference to the change of these distant governments as completely as did the imperturbable flood of the St. Lawrence.

The policy of England toward this little nation is again instructive. By the Quebec Act, in 1774, the English allowed the French in Canada "the benefit and use of their own laws, usages, and customs." This meant their flag, their language, their treasured religion, and the parochial system of education. This policy on the part of Pitt was diplomatic to a degree. The disgruntled English colonies to the south were in 1774 already dangerously restive. England's failure to hold them was owing to the distance across which the authoritative arm had to reach and the distractions of successive European wars. Upon Lower Canada, too, this factor of distance would have exercised a powerful influence had she not possessed those natural elements of unity which make for independence. Add to this the geographical conditions, physical and economic, which prevented cultural invasions by the English from western Quebec, and it is easy to see that here was a people whom the English could not coerce into assimilation and who remained indifferent to the making of decrees.

#### INDIFFERENCE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

While the soul of France was being bled, destroyed, and reborn by the Revolution, the *habitant* quietly tilled his land or pushed his canoe along the lonely streams, feeling only the tranquillity of the forests about him. The stirring principles of republicanism, individualism, and romanticism

which kindled France did not penetrate those backwoods and, what is more remarkable, excepting possibly the first they have not yet penetrated them.

In the present day of catastrophic history the French Canadians, justly or unjustly, are criticized for their lack of interest and participation in the struggle into which both their national mother and their national foster-mother have thrown themselves. So far as the charge is true, we can explain it in part by the fact that the Lower St. Lawrence Valley is an agricultural country of great economic independence, still holding a significant isolation from the rest of the world and, because its communities are scattered, lacking that cohesion necessary to enthusiasm, protest, and partisanship.

### Present Evidences of Isolation

This prolonged isolation has produced a provincialism the strength and purity of which is unmatched upon this continent. According to Royce,<sup>4</sup> a province is a part of a national domain which is, geographically and socially, sufficiently unified to have a true community consciousness, a pride in its own ideals and customs, and a sense of distinction from the rest of the country. Here individuals are molded in a common pattern, and the pattern is provincial. The ultimate of such a provincialism may be an evolution of the inherited type, or, if the environment offers unfavorable conditions for development, it may be a crystallization of the inherited type. In what follows we are to note a few of the many and varied evidences which bear witness that our region is of the latter type. There are many to be found in print, and a sojourn in the region will offer to the inquiring visitor obvious proofs of this crystallization.

### LANGUAGE

The language of French Canada is its most striking feature.<sup>5</sup> It is a speech which has more semblance to the speech of Normandy and Picardy in the sixteenth century than to the language of Paris today. For example *-oir* has the pronunciation of an open *e*, which in France is archaic. Their old legends carry words in ancient forms, as, for example, the preservation of an *s* in *notre* instead of the circumflex. These are but casual allusions; to do the matter justice would require an article in itself. Many of the words in use by the *habitant* of today have a different meaning from the same words as used in France. These are examples of differentiation rather than crystallization. Not a few words are due to the physical or cultural environment, as *alright*, *mail*, and the verbs *mailé*, *canoe*, *beaté* (for beaten). Semple tells us that the *habitant* is so accustomed to the

<sup>4</sup> Josiah Royce: *Race Questions, Provincialism, and other American Problems*, New York, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> For much of the journey in the field the writer had the companionship of Mr. Lander MacClintock of the French Department, University of Chicago, and is indebted to him specially as a student of Old French and Old France.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

FIG. 8—A lumber settlement on the Saguenay below Chicoutimi. The abrupt descent to the river of the slopes in the background, leaving only a narrow foreshore for human habitations, is also characteristic of the south shore of the Lower St. Lawrence, especially in Gaspé Peninsula. (Photo by Isaiah Bowman.)

FIG. 9—A ship unloading a winter's supply of molasses and coal at Murray Bay. The shore at low tide is over two miles from here.

canoe and its phraseology that he "disembarks" from his horse and "moors" it to a tree.<sup>6</sup> One is hailed with *benevenu* as he enters a cabin.

#### FOLKLORE

Recently Dr. C. M. Barbeau of the anthropological staff of the Canadian Geological Survey collected several hundred old legends, ballads, and verses from the natives of the more out-of-the-way villages which preserve in Old French the legends of northern France, such as Tristan and Isolde, a certain version of the Faust story, and the tales of the Round Table. These are still cherished and told by the simple people, who, little influenced by the complexities of the world and the extension of literature, retain these tales in their mind word for word and pass them on to succeeding generations.

I went with Dr. Barbeau to the cabin of an old man who was noted for his versatility in the art of ballad singing, and, as he sang to us, his daughter at the far end of the room crooned the words to the baby suckling at her breast. Unless the railway invades this town, bringing with it the distracting influences of outside culture, the baby will grow up to know and love these songs. Should the railway penetrate to Tadoussac, the chances are that the child will read the newspapers to the exclusion of the old songs; that Sir Galahad will be replaced by the Canadian Nick Carter, whoever he is; and that a beautiful example of the preservation of type, tradition and talent through isolation will be lost.

#### THE CHURCH

Another element of the French Canadian which illustrates crystallization and in a most significant manner is his mental attitude. He exhibits a simple faith which exceeds that of all his contemporaries in other portions of the American continent and to many is absolutely unknown. The beginning and the end of the *habitant's* thought lies in the Church. The grammar school, the college, and the newspaper turn to the Church to learn the limits beyond which their intellectual advance must not proceed. From youth to old age the Church's influence is constantly felt. The mass is the one event powerful enough to bring the entire population together, and there is scarcely a storm which can keep the farmer, however remote his home, from attending it. The *habitant* is medieval in his superstitions and absolute in his faith. Let the pile of crutches at the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré bear witness. I have spoken elsewhere of the effect of this isolation upon morals. The Church, aided by the encompassing hills, has brought to these people a peace of conscience and a moral sense which are sublime. Nowhere else have I seen such temperance and orderliness of life.

#### FEUDALISM

There still exists here a modified feudalism, a survival of the seigniorial system. In Charlevoix County (Les Eboulements and Malbaie), upon the

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 464.

north shore, and in a number of counties upon the south the land is held by a *seigneur* who may extract a fee from the *rentier*. He has full title vested in him by an ancient and royal grant, but today the rent that he may charge is regulated by law. The limit varies and may be as low as one-tenth of one per cent of the assessed value of the farm. M. Audet of Les Eboulements explained to me that the rent on his modest *pension* and the adjoining blacksmith shop was six dollars and a chicken annually, though recently the chicken had been "abolished." Today his *seigneur* rides over the estate upon a fine horse, and the peasantry stand beside the road to doff their hats. Beyond tradition and the modest fee this man has no rights of civil jurisdiction. The *habitant* may buy the land and frequently does, though because of centuries of occupation by the same family it is already virtually his. This buying up of land, together with hostile legislation, tends to do away with the un-American archaism of feudal observances.

#### ARCHITECTURE

There are a host of other evidences of this ancient and little-modified civilization. In the older houses the architecture is distinctly Norman (Figs. 4, 5, 6), and when houses are rebuilt it is often along traditional lines. Barns were being re-thatched in the summer of 1916 in the Gouffre valley (Fig. 5). The corbeled second story so popular in Normandy is a common sight. Windmills of ancient wooden types are used throughout the south shore and upon islands exposed to the strong northwesterly winds blowing down the estuary. These clumsy mills are used mainly for threshing the grain but also for grinding it. At Trois Pistoles I found a modern barn to which was attached this old-fashioned contrivance. Within a mile of this barn men were building a shed over a newly constructed Old World oven such as is to be found on every estate in the region (Fig. 5)—this, too, in spite of the fact that there was in the house a modern range containing an oven. This reluctance to give up old customs, or to introduce innovations in a community where all have customs so much in common, is a characteristic and highly important indication. On Isle aux Coudres, which is monotonously flat once you have ascended the twenty-foot terrace, the carts are two-wheeled. This is a relic of the days when a Norman wheel tax made two wheels more economical than four. It is asserted by the loyal *habitant* that two wheels are better for certain sorts of rough road; but as a matter of fact the roads are not rough, and the conditions are the same as on the mainland of the south shore where the farmer uses four-wheeled carts to advantage. This difference of accessibility in various portions and corners of the province always brings out a variation in the degree of advancement of the inhabitants. Only in the poorer and less accessible regions was Dr. Barbeau able to find the old tales in any considerable number.

## EXAMPLE OF PROVINCIALISM

This type of evidence could be given *ad infinitum*. One more example, however, must suffice. Royce's definition of provincialism requires that the individual succumb to the characteristics of the group. After the British "conquest" English and Scottish soldiers settled down at Murray Bay (Malbaie) and Fraserville (Rivière du Loup), towns which they named after their commanders. Today there is no trace of such settlement except family names. The descendants of these English and Scottish soldiers are French in thought, religion, language, and appearance. They have, of course, intermarried. At Bic I shared the Sunday dinner of a shoemaker. He could not speak a sentence of English, and yet his ancestral country was the same as mine. His name was Robert Burns.